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The Commonweal

November 11, 1949

Tidelands Tug of War

Harry W. Flannery

The Art of Defamation

Emmet Lavery

Two Ends to One Tale

Anne Fremantle

VOLUME LI 15c NUMBER 5

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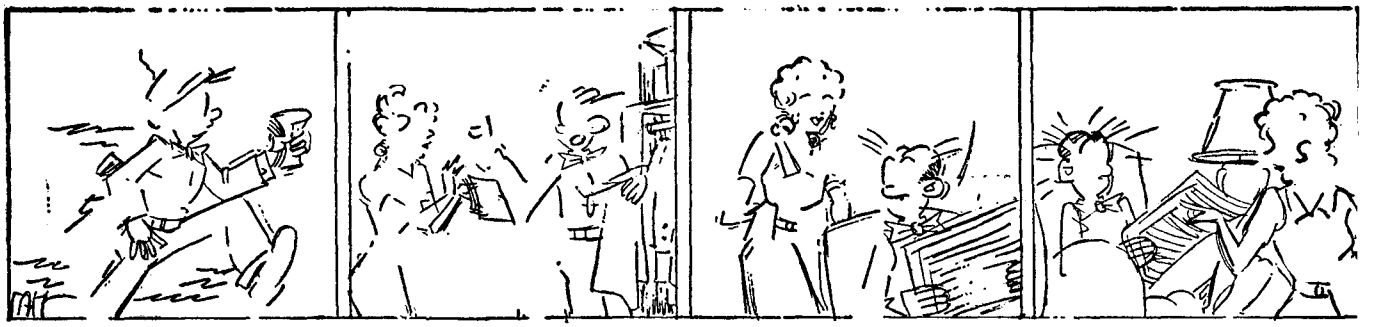
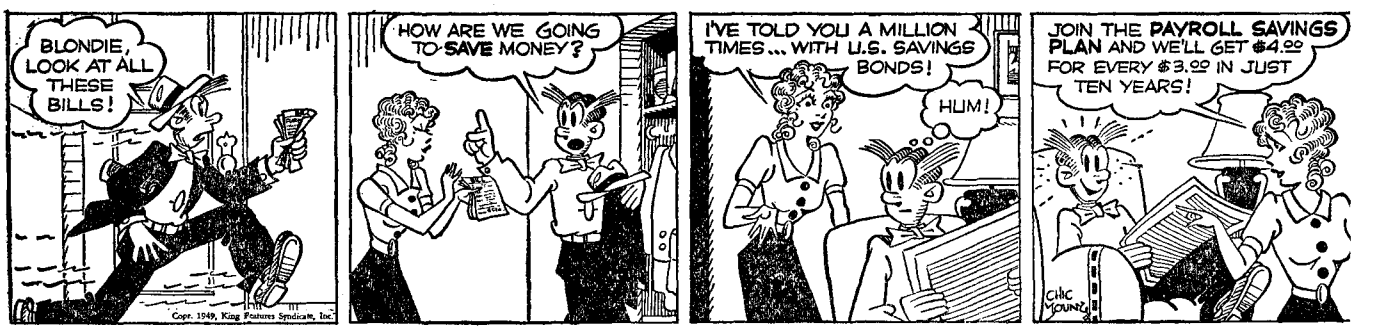


This is how Chic Young, the cartoonist, makes a first rough sketch for the famous strip.

BLONDIE, LOOK AT ALL THESE BILLS!
HOW ARE WE GOING TO SAVE MONEY?
I'VE TOLD YOU A MILLION TIMES... WITH U.S. SAVINGS BONDS!
JOIN THE PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN. AND WE'LL GET $4.00 FOR EVERY $3.00 IN JUST TEN YEARS.

Then when each panel in a strip meets his approval, he makes a careful pencil rendering as above.


BLONDIE, LOOK AT ALL THESE BILLS!
HOW ARE WE GOING TO SAVE MONEY?
I'VE TOLD YOU A MILLION TIMES... WITH U.S. SAVINGS BONDS!
HUM!
JOIN THE PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN AND WE'LL GET $4.00 FOR EVERY $3.00 IN JUST TEN YEARS!
Copr. 1949, King Features Syndicate, Inc.
CHIC YOUNG

After this, the pencil rendering is carefully inked in, as you see here.

STEP BY STEP...

that's the way it's done successfully!

As you can see, Chic Young, who draws the popular "Blondie" comic strip, goes through many steps to arrive at a finished cartoon.

And, cartoonist Chic Young, together with millions of other smart Americans, will tell you that the step-by-step method is the easiest, surest way of doing anything worth while.

Particularly, saving money.

One of the easiest and surest ways to set aside any worth while amount of money is to buy United States Savings Bonds the step-by-step method—

So set aside a *regular* amount week after week, month after month, year after year. Then in 10 short years you will have a mighty nice nest egg tucked away for you and your family.

Get started now. Get your Bonds through Payroll Savings or at your bank or post office.

AUTOMATIC SAVING IS SURE SAVING—U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

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Week by Week

The Role of Titoism

THE comforting factor of having other people fight your battles for you comes into most American thinking about the resistance of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and the possible spread of Titoism to other lands. In assessing the value of such resistance as an aid in the cold war, it is probably a mistake either to expect too much of it immediately or to discount too heavily its more lasting effects.

The USSR obviously has things militarily and politically in hand in such border states as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. There may be popular unrest, various opposition leaders and underground movements and there is the opposition of the Church. But in any showdown the Russians can maintain control. In fact, they are so expert in handling fractious elements that showdowns do not occur. To count on immediate national uprisings in any of these subject countries would be foolhardy.

Over a longer period there is much more to be said. The fact that Marshal Tito has been able to maintain his defiance for seventeen months encourages other nationalist oppositions. The election of Yugoslavia to the UN Security Council in face of Russian opposition has given that land added status as a spearhead of Marxist opposition to Moscow. It has given heart to anti-Stalinist Marxists and non-Marxists in the satellite states.

Its effect in Communist circles in other countries seems to be spreading. Articles by several prominent "fellow-travelers" in the French press and the current trip to Yugoslavia of forty-two Communist Party members of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) indicate considerable deviationism in France. There are signs of it in Italy, Norway and Finland. Sculptor Jo Davidson is the most spectacular convert from American ranks. Hope is again expressed that even Comrade Mao, because his career in the Party so closely parallels that of Tito, may in the end make China deviationist.

There are, of course, no limits to hoping. There is enough evidence, also, that a spirit of resistance *is* alive in the satellite lands and that the Communist Parties in Western Europe are themselves threatened with division. It is among peoples outside the Russian orbit that ideology counts most. In the band of iron-curtain countries, ideological opposition, when added to patriotic aspirations and the century-old bitter rivalries of nationalistic and religious origin, makes the governing of that cut-up buffer area difficult in the extreme. So that Titoism has seriously weakened Russia's position in Europe. If only invasion of Yugoslavia can be averted, a war is much less likely.

All this seems to overweigh the fact that Titoism like Trotskyism provides Moscow with a convenient pretext for continual purges. Totalitarians seldom find themselves at a loss for pretexts. Marshal Tito, whatever his record and his objectives may be, has provided rebels with a place to go, a nucleus around which to build national oppositions.

He has made it possible to bring forward Lenin, the great ideological opponent of all imperialisms, to challenge Stalin's Marxist orthodoxy. Titoism thereby makes it finally clear that Russian Communism cannot advance much further in Europe by ideological means. It indicates too that further expansion by force will be increasingly difficult. Beyond that, it is clear only that Titoism itself can hardly lead directly to the democratic freedoms which we cherish.

The Loyalty Oath

WHILE busy typewriters have been clicking away like angry machine guns on our side of the Atlantic, one of the real battles for separation of Church and State has been going on in Czechoslovakia this past year. Up to the end of last month the battle had led to the jailing of hundreds of Catholic priests and the virtual imprisonment of Archbishop Josef Beran of Prague. Even now the doughty Archbishop has refused to compromise at all on the only real issue at stake: whether the Church will turn itself into a subservient instrument of the State, any state; in this instance, a Communist state founded on the unyielding principles of classical Marxism.

Through the centuries the Church has adopted a policy of accommodating itself to any form of government which permits it to fulfill its religious mission. With the new totalitarian states, it is never a question of accommodation; it is a question of temporary tactical defeat. To the extent that the Church makes concessions to what is really a rival religion, to that same extent the Church suffers shame and defeat.

That is why the recent decision of the eleven Czech Bishops to sign the Government's Oath of Loyalty for the clergy can only be looked upon as a tragic set-back in the modern struggle between Caesar and God.

The new Church law in Czechoslovakia gives the Government control of clerical appointments, finances and administration of all churches. On its side, the Government has promised to grant an adequate, somewhat increased salary to the clergy and their Bishops. The Czech Bishops, who say they consider the new law an attack on the "freedom of the Church," have refused to accept the salary increase in order to point up their abiding opposition.

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• NEXT WEEK •

For the annual Children's Book Number, John M. Aitkenhead, of London, has written about "Poems by Children." Here is a sample from his collection.

Trees old and young waving gracefully to the
music of the birds
And the breeze.
But what a different picture when the wrath
of the wind is aroused:
The trees groan and creak
Just as though a stiff-jointed girl were learning
to jitterbug.

Here, says the author, you have at least the stuff of poetry. We agree.

The Czech priests who will sign the Oath of Loyalty will do so "only because of the pressure of external circumstances," as a defense "against possible consequences," and to be saved "for the spiritual care of the faithful." Each, to his own superior, will state that he does not "assume any obligations which would violate my conscience as a priest, nor the Church law."

There are limits to the loyalty a Christian and a priest can vow. But there are no limits to the loyalty a totalitarian régime demands. The signing of this oath has not ended the spiritual battle raging in Czechoslovakia for a year or more.

In the meantime the Church has suffered a profound psychological defeat. In the eyes of the Czechs, their priests, no longer hunted, are no longer free but are trapped as surely as the people themselves. Again the totalitarians have made good use of a powerful weapon: the cry of the child. That cry, for a generation now, has been strong enough to break men of iron. In Czechoslovakia it is the insistent cry of a nation seventy percent Catholic and never in greater need of the Bread of Life, which the Czech Bishops apparently felt they must heed, whatever the dangers.

Atomic Controls

LISTENING to the New York broadcasts of UN sessions, one is distracted by the vocal inflections of the man who does simultaneous English translations of Russian speeches. He emphasizes with oral slants significant words, pausing while he searches for a phrase or term or while he listens to the next Russian sentence. "The Union of Soviet Socialist *Republics*, . . . ah . . . can *never* . . . ah, permit the despicable effort of the Anglo-American bloc. . . ." Listening, one realizes that the words which are casually reported in the papers, "decadent," "fascist," "corrupt," are actually spoken; but as the translator gives them his own formality they seem totally without meaning. Yet, solemnly spoken session after session, their effect is regularly to frustrate majority-supported actions.

On the matter of atomic controls, again under consideration, the argument has settled back to the battle positions set in 1946. The majority in support of an international cooperative agency with power to control all raw materials, and to perform all experimental work and production. Manufacture of war weapons would be prevented by its monopoly of material, equipment and techniques.

The Soviet Union prefers an international inspection group to perform what the West regards as an ineffectual supervision of nationally operated atomic installations. The Russian stand is briefly that it refuses to enter into a veto-less cooperative effort, and that it will not permit

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close and effective inspection of its own atomic developments.

There is little hope for a solution, until the Russian position is changed, and there is little hope that the Russian position will change. That little hope which does remain is, on the basis of as yet informally discussed compromises, that it will be possible to create a program which will offer enough of a material advantage to the Soviets (i.e., certainty that the West would not prepare weapons) as to convince them they should sacrifice their strategic position. It is a very small chance, but as long as we assume that Russia is not planning a sudden attack, that she wants, with all the apprehensive emotion of the West, to have atomic security, then it remains a chance.

The Farmer as Voter

JUST this time twenty years ago, when the stock market fell flat in October and November 1929, this country learned that its economic life was subject to periods of gloom called depressions. Since that time we have been working out some techniques to prevent depressions. Most of the preventives, devised during the New Deal, take the form of Government regulation of business.

One of these measures is a plan to stabilize farm prices, generally referred to as a farm subsidy or a farm price support. The Government either loans money to the farmer or buys his crop, so that crop surpluses, which would deflate market prices, are kept off the market and farm prices are thus pegged high enough to give the farmer strong purchasing power. The idea is to level off the ups-and-downs to which farm prices are given, since these fluctuations bring on dislocations in the economy and eventually depressions.

The Government is now such an ardent believer in farm price supports that it will soon have on its hands two billion dollars worth of surplus farm products. Despite this bulging inventory, the Congress, after a fight and under White House pressure, has extended the high wartime ninety percent support scale, in preference to the seventy-five to ninety percent sliding scale plan; the latter plan is designed to discourage farmers from producing those crops which are now piled high and rotting in warehouses. How long the Government can go on paying for high supports would seem to depend on the Treasury, which is expected to report a five billion dollar deficit this year. The President has announced that he will meet this deficit by raising taxes.

If, in the circumstances, the new law does not make good sense, it does make good politics. The Democrats, who forced this bill through, pledged in their platform to replace ninety percent supports with the sliding scale system; now they have soothed their consciences by agreeing to adopt sliding supports sometime after 1950—which is an election year. Then, however, there will be 1952 to think about and, presumably, farmers will be voting that year, too.

Farm price supports are a necessary technique for stabilizing the farmer's income and preventing depressions. It is also possible to play politics with them. Farmers, as voters, become a privileged class, at the expense of the taxpayers. Mr. Truman, who has campaigned righteously and often rightfully against "privileged interests," will simply have made, in the farmer, a new "privileged interest."

To the degree that this happens, the technique of farm price supports is made an instrument for politicians to use. The value of that technique as an instrument to prevent depressions suffers accordingly, since unnecessarily high supports and rosy promises to privileged voters have to be paid off by the less-favored, tax-paying voter. For the latter, the record of the Truman Administration on farm subsidies is something less than a fair deal.

First Steel Settlement

THE Bethlehem Steel agreement, establishing company-paid pensions of a minimum of $100 a month for employees who retire at 65 after 25 years' service, should set up some sort of pattern. If so, the concept of a living wage has now happily expanded to include provision for old age. What remains to be determined is the proportion of that security which will be supplied by government social security measures. In the Bethlehem settlement, it is good to note that workers will contribute an equal amount to what the company sets aside for social insurance.

Outside of this provision, general acceptance of the pension-insurance principle does little to advance labor and management toward a partnership based on common interests, which is a non-Marxist ideal. There is nothing sacrosanct about the $100 a month minimum that would restrain labor from pressing for an ever higher figure in pensions as well as wages.

Acceptance of pensions and social insurance as part of a labor-management contract is a high water mark in collective bargaining in this country. What is still lacking is a cooperative approach to industrial relations. Management, by sharing more information and responsibility with workers, can contribute much toward creating a new, less warlike atmosphere. And labor, by accepting new responsibilities and by relating its immediate demands to the long-range common good, can do its part. The job is now primarily educational.

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Tidelands Tug of War

The Government's pull is stronger, but the States refuse to let go

Harry W. Flannery

VISITORS to California, motoring to the beaches of the state which exports its year-round climate, gaze in frequent amazement at forests of oil riggings off roads which lead to the sunny bathing beaches. To their greater surprise, oil forests have spread into the blue waters.

To the visitors, the oil derricks are ugly and disturbing. Why does a state which advertises its beauty and resort facilities permit such defacement?

The practical, informed Californian has the answer. These oil derricks represent another and extremely important source of California wealth. And until recent years, California assumed these wells, both on shore and off, belonged to it.

Now, however, a question has arisen: Does the Federal Government have a right to the offshore wells? In 1947, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the United States, "because it had to protect the country and protect our foreign relations, had paramount rights in and power over the area, an incident to which was full dominion over its resources, including oil."

That ruling affected California alone. But the Government is suing Texas and Louisiana for similar paramount rights over oil in their marginal seas.

The states have not given up the fight. In the year after the Supreme Court decision, Congress passed a bill which would have voided the verdict of the court. It would have given the States the rights to the disputed lands. President Truman vetoed the measure.

This year, the States tried again. New bills were introduced, although not pressed. The tactics changed. An attempt was made to prevent a veto, by obtaining a compromise with the Government. That, too, failed.

The next tug in the Tidelands struggle will be the Supreme Court decision on Louisiana and Texas. After that, comes the 1950 Congressional session.

Harry W. Flannery, a former CBS correspondent in Europe and the Far East, is now on the staff of the Los Angeles Examiner. *He is the author of* Assignment to Berlin.

I'm referring to this controversy as the Tidelands Tug of War. Everyone uses that term, Tidelands. Actually, however, this is not a fight over the Tidelands at all. Tidelands are the lands covered by the ebb and flow of the tides. This argument is over submerged lands off the United States coast beyond the low-water mark, the headlands of bays out to the three-mile limit off California, and farther off Texas and Louisiana.

These offshore lands are part of the continental shelf which surrounds every continent, a stretch of land which slopes out to the 100-fathom (600 feet) depth and then plunges into the abysmal depths. The width of this shelf varies from about five miles on parts of our western shore, to some 140 miles at the Texas-Louisiana line, and more than 175 miles off the New England and Florida coasts.

On this shelf are oysters, clams, shells, kelp, sponges, sand, salt, sulphur, gas, and, as we are now quite aware, oil. It has even been estimated that the 262,000 square miles of United States continental shelf may contain more oil than the land area of this country and the Near East combined. In any case, the world's ten million square miles of shelf are a potential primary oil source, and with the supply of oil now reckoned to be limited, while essential to industry and war, its possession is a subject of grave issue. This is especially true off the shores of California, Texas and Louisiana.

★

IN the case of California, the first drilling of wells underwater occurred more than half a century ago, in 1896, when oil companies began building piers offshore at Summerland, six and one half miles south of proud, wealthy, lovely Santa Barbara.

It was not until 1927 that the search became general. In that year, a drilling crew off Huntington Beach, 14½ miles south of Long Beach, accidentally discovered it could drill a slanted hole. It was found that the drilling bit, instead of going straight down, would drift so that a well started on or near the shore might slant seaward and penetrate the producing zone at a point beneath deep water a considerable distance from

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shore. By 1935, California operators had perfected methods of controlling the drift and conducting directional drilling, with astounding accuracy.

The result was that California's offshore oil deposits began steadily to provide half again as much oil as its onshore wells in the same fields. The annual royalties became almost $4 million. A new oil rush was on.

Scores of prospectors, seeking to circumvent the State, applied to the Department of the Interior for Federal leases. The Federal Government turned them off. Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes cited a United States Supreme Court decision that "such title to the shore and lands under water is regarded as incidental to the sovereignty of the State . . . and cannot be retained or granted out to individuals by the United States."

United States Senator Gerald P. Nye questioned the California title, but Congress refused to direct the Attorney General to file suit to determine the question. Resolutions to assert United States ownership of the resources of the submerged lands were introduced in Congress in 1937 and 1939, but failed.

*

IN THE meantime, Ickes changed his mind. At first, he merely said that since the title had been questioned, the issue should be settled in the courts. Then he became definite. To assure continued State ownership, bills were introduced into Congress and in 1948, Ickes said the backers of these bills "are raising the cry of 'stop thief' in order to let the oil companies get away with murder. It's not a matter of State's rights, but the issue of the rights of certain oil companies to take oil from the States because it's easier."

Some oil companies admitted interest in continuing leases under the States. Russell B. Brown, general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, told the joint House-Senate Judiciary Committee that independent oil men wanted the shelf developed under State control.

Holders of current leases were afraid that if the Federal Government took them over, it would issue new leases and control production. Limits might be set on the underwater acreage available to any one company. New and higher royalties might be asked. There would be delays, red tape and greater difficulty in dealing with Washington.

The Government also argued that our present economy and future safety are much dependent on petroleum. If we are to be prepared against sudden attack, we must have adequate petroleum supplies in this country, and not be obliged to depend on foreign sources. What is more, oil must be developed and made available in adequate quantities at the right places at the right time.

President Truman asserted early this year that the bills which would return the control of the off-shore oil to the States was "for the benefit of the oil lobby. It (the proceeds of the oil) ought to go to all the people, not just a few rich millionaires."

In his State of the Union message this year, the President insisted that "ownership must remain vested in the Federal Government." He asked for a program for "planned use of resources."

*

THE States, on the other hand, claim that Government control would defeat Government objectives of developing and conserving resources. They pointed out that it takes huge amounts of risk capital to discover and develop an oil field. Drilling a $2-million offshore potentiality may be only a beginning, since it would require a dozen more wells to uncover the real potential of a field. This, it was asserted, is too risky a business for the Government.

California's Senator Downey, in his book, "Truth About the Tidelands," blasted Ickes. Downey said the loss of the Tidelands to the Federal Government would be insignificant compared with the threat of socialization of resources throughout the nation. The proposals gave the President, cried the Senator, a "legal pass key to fascism or communism."

All this assumed that the Government would itself operate the oil fields, instead of continuing leases and controlling production and reserves.

The situation in Texas and Louisiana differs from that in California.

Texas Representative W. R. Poage pointed out that when Texas entered the Union in 1845, it claimed territory in what is now a part of other states. In a compromise in 1850, Texas accepted $10 million from the Government in settlement of claims to all land north and west of the Trans-Pecos region and the Panhandle—half of New Mexico and parts of Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. The agreement also provided that Texas retain control of its Tidelands.

"If the Government insists that this agreement should be rescinded," said Poage, "then any country lawyer knows that if one party refuses to follow an agreement, the other party also is relieved of any obligation. That means that Texas, under the Government's reasoning, has a valid right to reclaim all the land in the other states to which she once gave up her claims."

Texas also insists that according to the agreement by which she joined the Union, the United States recognized that the State extends to a line three leagues, 10½ statute miles, from shore.

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Louisiana's claim is like that of Texas. Her case is based on the declaration that the State, as a territory, was "bounded by the Gulf to the place of beginning, including all islands within three leagues of the Coast." This is interpreted as meaning all intervening water, too.

Nowhere is offshore oil more accessible than off Texas and Louisiana. Much of the drilling has been from specially built barges at costs little more, and often no more, than drilling on land.

Estimates of oil reserves—oil recoverable at a reasonable profit—along the shores of Louisiana and Texas, range from 4 billion to 10 billion barrels. The significance of these figures is apparent when it is mentioned that the total 1948 production of crude oil in the United States was little more than 2 billion barrels, and the total proved reserve has been estimated at less than 24 billion barrels.

★

THE compromise was proposed by Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn. He suggested that all Federal claims to submerged inland areas be dropped, and that there be acknowledgement of paramount rights of the Federal Government to the submerged coastal areas with respect to navigation, defense and international relations; State control of the Tidelands with respect to oil development, taxation and policing, and a trade arranged giving the Federal Government 37½ per cent of the oil income from the Tidelands under State control and a similar cut to the States from the area beyond, under Federal control.

The press hailed the proposals, but Tom Clark, then Attorney General, and Interior Secretary Krug rejected them.

The Federal Government continues to look forward to a favorable decision by the Supreme Court on Louisiana and Texas offshore oil, just as it has ruled on that of California.

Both the states and the Government are reforming their lines for the 1950 Congressional session.

The Government pull in the Tidelands Tug of War is stronger, but the states have not relaxed their hold nor lessened their determination.

The Art of Defamation

Hollywood meets some obstacles in reappraising the "trial" of Cardinal Mindszenty

Emmet Lavery

"SO YOU'RE going to make an independent film about Cardinal Mindszenty?" asked the liberal on Hollywood Boulevard. "Pro or con?"

"Mindszenty?" murmured a cautious little producer in the executive dining-room of a major studio. "He was anti-Semitic, wasn't he?"

"Look," said a reporter on a trade paper. "Who can tell about Hungarians? If you open it up, maybe you find something that's a little worse than what you have already."

"Everybody knows the man was a Fascist," pointed out the man-with-some-quick-money-to-invest. "And an operator on the black market as well. I'd say leave well enough alone."

"Listen," urged the agent who never takes a chance on anybody. "If he isn't guilty of treason, he's probably guilty of something else. So what's the idea? You want to start a war with Russia maybe?"

Emmet Lavery, who is a stage and screen writer, began his professional life as a trial lawyer. He is currently in Hollywood and is the secretary of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

★

NO, we didn't want to start a war with Russia. We merely wanted to start a film dealing with the so-called "trial" of Cardinal Mindszenty.

To a few of us in the independent field, this looked like another Dreyfus case. For this proceeding was not a trial, in the usual sense of the word. It was a propaganda maneuver designed to fuzz and to obscure the basic issues. It was, in reality, a political court martial convened on the direct orders of the Politburo in Moscow. And carried out under the personal supervision of Vice-Premier Rakosi, a Hungarian politician who happens to be both a member of the Politburo and a brigadier-general in the Soviet Army.

Here, we felt, was a defendant who would seem to be entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt. A man of the people, a peasant of the peasants, he was not at all the typical diplo-

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mat. He was, as a matter of fact, a stubborn man: a man of principle.

To a few of us in Hollywood, the issue seemed quite clear. It was not Cardinal Mindszenty who was "guilty of treason." It was Comrade Rakosi, the Vice-Premier of Hungary, for it was Rakosi who had delivered up Hungary to the complete control and domination of the Soviet Union. It was Rakosi who had kept the Russian Army in Hungary long after it had "liberated" the country from the Nazis at the end of the war. It was Rakosi who suppressed all opposition and who drove the leading liberals of Hungary into exile.

On the facts, we had a very clear case indeed.

*

WE decided not to confine ourselves to a dramatization of the public "trial." Like the five judges of the so-called "People's Court," we would treat the "trial" as a mere formal arraignment after-the-fact. We would stress, instead, the secret "trial" that preceded the public examination and, since so much of Hungarian procedure today—like that of the Soviet courts in Moscow—concerns itself with the extended examination of prisoners-in-prison, we would dramatize the question of what happened to Cardinal Mindszenty and his co-defendants in the forty days of questioning that followed his arrest. We could not say, with certainty, just what particular pressures were applied. But we could show the difference in the defendant before and after his arrest: the difference in his statements, the difference in his attitudes. We could analyze the variety of "treatments" which were considered by his captors and we could report the consistent refusal of the authorities to permit any newspaper interviews with the Cardinal after he had been arrested.

Yes, this was to be fictional as distinguished from documentary treatment but this was to be fiction founded on fact. The pivotal point of our story, the arrest and the "trial" of the Cardinal and his immediate associates, would be a factual re-creation. The other characters would be fictional but they would reflect, in relation to the Cardinal's experience, an accurate picture of Budapest in transition: in their reactions to the arrest and confinement of the Cardinal, we would dramatize the change-over in Hungary. We would show just how it became a satellite of the Soviet Union.

Our hopes, naturally, were high. This was to be a story of one man's fight for personal liberty: an appeal to the conscience of man. And we felt reasonably certain that a feeling for personal liberty was one of the few remaining universal values that would have immediate appeal and meaning for people of all creeds and all languages. We had, we thought, some rather impressive research upon which to base our story. On the political question in Hungary, we had copies of the public papers and statements of Cardinal Mindszenty himself, including his warning against any "confession" that might be extracted from him while in prison. On the general subject of Russia's expansionist ideas in Europe, we had the personal experience of various members of the Overseas Press Club, as recorded in their book *As We See Russia*. In addition, we had a variety of underground reports from Hungary, which reinforced the basic direction of our story line, as well as the testimony of many Hungarian exiles now living in this country.

And yet we almost lost out. For a while it looked as if we could not make the picture.

*

THIS, to be quite direct about the matter, is where the fine art of defamation comes in.

I started my screen play in February 1949 and I had the first draft finished about eight weeks later. Normally, it would have gone into production at once. My producers had good reason to believe that their financing was all set but suddenly it wasn't set at all. One deal after another began to wither on the vine. We began to discover the full meaning of what had happened in a Budapest court room in February 1949.

It wasn't enough for the Soviets that the Cardinal should be convicted of "treason". He had to be discredited in the eyes of the world community and in this project the men from the Kremlin had the enthusiastic cooperation of officials who were experts in the technique of the "big lie". They had the roster of the Nazi Party in Hungary, the Hungarian Arrow Cross. Those who did not go down the drain with Hitler were quite willing and eager to do business with Stalin. Two in particular: Vilmos Olti, the chief judge at the "trial"; and Dr. Martin Bodonyi, one of the prosecutors. As well as many behind the scenes. In a very real way, the Hitler-Stalin pact had taken form once more. As an "occupying" power that had no right to be in Hungary, there were limits to what the Russian propagandists could do directly with the Hungarian people. As natives of Hungary, the Arrow Cross members were in a much better position to stir up popular feeling.

So the newspaper attacks on the Cardinal in Hungary—and outside of Hungary as well—began long before he was arrested and they continued long after he was sentenced to life imprisonment. The attacks were usually by Hungarian writers, seldom if ever by Russians. And they were all on the same general theme: the Cardinal was a traitor, the Cardinal was anti-democratic, the Cardinal was anti-Semitic.

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Ironically enough, it was the Arrow Cross itself which had been strongly anti-Semitic in Hungary during the war. But this made no difference to the Soviet authorities. In the fine art of defamation, the Nazis were masters: they could lie about the Jews during the war, or Cardinal Mindszenty after the war, with equal ease. Nothing was ever a matter of proof. Merely a matter of repetition. Put the lie in motion and in time, by the usual process of chain reaction, the lie reaches clear around the world. Even to Hollywood.

To the credit of the principal Jewish agencies in this country, it must be reported that they were not deceived by the propaganda from Budapest. They were not taken in by the Hungarian *Yellow Book,* which was later withdrawn by the authorities in Budapest. Nor did they go along with the line taken by the Seldes news letter *In Fact.* Early in 1949 a joint statement in defense of Cardinal Mindszenty was issued by the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee and the Jewish War Veterans. Throughout the year there were the prompt and often repeated statements of Bela Fabian, former head of the Jewish Community in Budapest, revealing that the Cardinal had saved many of his Jewish brethren from the terrors of the Nazi occupation. More recently there was Fabian's own book (*Cardinal Mindszenty,* Scribner's) in which, as a former member of the Hungarian Parliament, he analyzed the new political situation in Hungary and described the heroic resistance of the Cardinal to the Soviet operation.

★

YET—the lie so often outraces the truth. In a day when a few clergymen will still go out of their way to apologize for the dictatorship of General Franco, it is easy for the public at large to believe the worst about a Prince of the Church. Particularly if it's a strange name in a strange language.

So *The Daily Worker* in New York had a gala time of it for a while and so did *The People's World* in San Francisco. They attacked everything and everybody. Along with the New York *Freiheit,* they called on my producers to abandon our film and they urged their readers to write letters asking that the film be dropped.

Now it is not probable that any one of these articles *per se* was strong enough to influence the average channel of motion picture financing. But these articles were part of an over-all pattern of propaganda and the subtler shades in that pattern, I am now convinced, did have an adverse effect on many of our potential investors. The things whispered at a Hollywood luncheon table are often more damaging than the things written down in printer's ink.

It is true that many independents in Hollywood were facing serious budget problems about the same time, for this has not been an easy year for the independent field. Yet I think most of the independent producers would agree that our difficulties were, to say the least, unique. We were fighting against a new kind of whispering campaign: a campaign of defamation, apparently unorganized and uncoordinated on the Hollywood end of things, but all of it identical with the political chain reaction that began in Budapest in the spring of 1948.

Sometimes the lie would take a new twist. Occasionally, it would be suggested that it was much too soon to do a film about Cardinal Mindszenty. After all, even the best of uninformed friends would point out, no one knew just what had happened to the Cardinal after he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Suppose that history, yet to be written, should come up with something new and unanswerable? (Zola met the same question in the matter of Dreyfus!) Suppose—and this was surely the most extravagant invention to come out of the propaganda mill—the Church itself should prefer that Cardinal Mindszenty be forgotten as quickly as possible?

Fortunately, for my peace of mind, I had been through this type of defeatist propaganda before and so had my producers: Edward A. Golden and Robert Golden, the men with whom I made *Hitler's Children* (adapted from Gregor Ziemer's *Education for Death*) during the war years. We could all remember the day, for instance, when a fairly prominent executive had mumbled: "No—no, I couldn't do a story like this. Suppose Hitler should win? How would I ever explain it?"

We decided to sit out the propaganda barrage. So we waited. We waited through all of May, June, July and a good part of August. We were all ready to go and there was no money to go with. Every well in sight had dried up and then, one fine day, in walked a man with a lot of wells (oil) that hadn't dried up. Jack Wrather, a young producer from Texas, put his own money into the enterprise and things began to happen. A bank loan was arranged, casting was started, and with the Goldens he organized a new producing corporation which bears the felicitous title Freedom Productions.

In early September the cameras started to roll at the old Enterprise studios, under the direction of Felix Feist. We had Charles Bickford for the Cardinal, we had a top flight cast headed by Paul Kelly and Bonita Granville (Mrs. Wrather), and we had one of the finest production crews assembled in Hollywood in recent years: able men, imaginative men, every one of them doing a little more than his best because he believed in

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the project. We had only sixteen days in which to do the picture but the time limitation didn't seem to bother anyone: it was just one more challenge.

Now, at last, the film is edited and ready for scoring. In December or January it will be released under the title *Guilty of Treason*. For the record, it should be noted that this is not a special plea for a special group of people: there is no Catholic money involved in this production. Robert Golden and his father, Edward A. Golden, are Jewish. Jack Wrather is a Methodist. For them, as for myself, the story of what happened to Cardinal Mindszenty at the hands of the Communists in Hungary is also the story of what happened to the Jews in Germany under the Nazis. It is also the story of Lajos Ordass, the Lutheran Bishop of Budapest, who has been held incommunicado for a long time. And the story of hundreds of priests in Czechoslovakia. In the last analysis, it is the inevitable story of what always happens in the one-party state: when the liberty of one religion goes, the liberty of all religions disappears.

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HERE, as in so many of the "purge" trials in Moscow, it was inevitable that all of the defendants, without exception, should "confess". The Russian authorities would never have brought them to public "trial" unless the prosecution staff was quite certain that the defendants, upon arraignment, would make prompt and sweeping admissions of guilt.

But was it inevitable that so much of the world would accept, as quickly as it has, the verdict which was returned in Budapest? Why were we so quick to take alarm when Hitler marched his soldiers *into* Czechoslovakia and so slow to show concern when Stalin, by a political finesse, continued to keep his Soviet troops *within* the borders of Hungary? Why were so many liberals inclined to believe that, in all probability, the Cardinal must have been "guilty" of something? Particularly since, until the moment of the so-called "trial", they knew very little about the Cardinal, one way or the other?

How was it then that the presumption, in the public mind, was so frequently in favor of the new "government" in Budapest and so consistently against the Cardinal? How could people fail to face the facts in Budapest as they really were —and are?

I am not sure that I have the complete answer but I have a theory. I believe that the Cardinal, in effect, was standing trial for our sins: not for his. In the court of world opinion, he was being judged for what many of us have done or have failed to do.

When people whispered that the Cardinal was anti-democratic, they meant that the only Catholics they knew were not as democratic as they ought to be. When people whispered that the Cardinal was anti-Semitic, they meant that the only Catholics they knew were not as friendly to their Jewish brethren as they should be. When people whispered that the Cardinal and the Pope were conspiring together to bring the whole world to immediate war with the Soviet Union, they meant that the only Catholics they knew were more war-minded than peace-minded. After all, they didn't know very much about the Pope's unceasing struggle for peace and they didn't know very much about Cardinal Mindszenty either. Nor did they know anything about people like Maritain, Mauriac, Don Sturzo, Bernanos, Dorothy Day. But they thought they knew some of their own neighbors rather well. So they generalized accordingly. Especially in Hollywood.

Gradually, of course, this particular "iron curtain" is beginning to dissolve. The truth is getting through to people the world over and a good man's honor is finally being vindicated.

The Labor Movement

Health Insurance

WHATEVER may have happened in other countries —and much of it was disastrous—in this country the Catholic Church has, by and large, backed organized labor in its demands both at the bargaining table and in the halls of Congress.

Jim Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, said once that "the Bishops' Program (of 1919) is a more radical program than that of the CIO."

This is not to say that the Church has always approved specific demands, but simply the broad objectives: living annual wages, decent hours and working conditions, seniority, paid vacations, a share in management, just prices, adequate housing, civil rights, fair employment, minimum wage laws, social security, etc.

This is one reason why the Catholic workers in America have not yet been lost to the Church. Over the past 24 years only two instances come to mind in which a large part of the Church's weight has been thrown against attempts that were made, or backed, by organized labor to carry out this general program.

These are the Child Labor Amendment of 1924 and today the proposals of the Truman Administration for a national health insurance plan.

Child labor had been explicitly condemned by Leo XIII and also, I believe, by the Bishops' Program of 1919. In addition Monsignor John A. Ryan helped to write the Amendment, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, official agency of the Bishops, continued to support it. In spite of all this a number of individual Bishops and the magazine *America* opposed it on the

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ground that it might be abused to require Catholic children to attend public schools—exactly how was never made clear—and as a result only 28 of the necessary 36 states had approved the Amendment by 1938.

In that year, fortunately, Congress passed the Minimum Wage-and-Hour Law, which forbids "oppressive child labor" so that child labor was no longer a major issue. Nevertheless, the harm had been done, and enemies of the Church in the labor movement still point to the defeat of the Child Labor Amendment by Catholic Bishops as proof of the reactionary character of the Church.

For many years now both the AFL and CIO have placed a national health insurance plan high up on their list of "must legislation." And the curious thing is that for even more years the predominant weight of Catholic authority has supported this objective.

The English Jesuit, Father Lewis Watt, points out that since well back in the nineteenth century "the Catholic Social Movement" has backed compulsory social (including health) insurance in Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and France. The Bishops of Austria said that the French law of 1930 "realizes one of the wishes of Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*" (published in 1891).

In this country the Bishops' Program of 1919 led the way with this statement: "The state [meaning government] should make comprehensive provision for insurance against illness, invalidity, unemployment and old age."

Commenting on this in 1939, Edward Cardinal Mooney, then Archbishop Mooney, chairman of the administrative board of NCWC, said: "The social insurance provided in the Social Security Act is by no means perfect. To say nothing of other defects, it fails to provide for workers' insurance against sickness."

The Bishops' Program, by the way, sets forth the principle that the industry in which a man is employed should provide him with all that is necessary to meet the needs of his entire life, and that therefore the worker should not be expected to contribute to any social insurance fund unless he makes more than his family requires to meet these needs.

In 1940 the Bishops issued another statement, *The Church and the Social Order,* in which they again called attention to the need for health insurance and added: "Some form of government subsidy granted by the entire citizenship through legislative provision seems to be a necessary part of such a program."

Other Catholic authorities who have backed the extension of social security to cover national compulsory health insurance include Archbishop John F. Rummel, in April, 1940; Bishop Francis J. Haas, in 1928 and again in 1945, when he said: "Now and without delay, Congress . . . should broaden the Social Security Act to include health insurance;" Bishop Michael Ready, in 1945; Monsignor John A. Ryan, from 1919 continuously until he died; Monsignor John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and Rev. R. A. McGowan, director of the Social Action Department of NCWC, in testimony before a Senate committee in 1946 and on other occasions; Rev. John F. Cronin and Rev. George G. Higgins, Father McGowan's assistants; Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J., associate editor of *America,* in that magazine, November 3, 1945; Edward A. Marciniak, formerly instructor in economics and sociology at Loyola University and editor of *Work,* in October, 1947, issue of *American Catholic Sociological Review,* and in issues of *Work* from 1943 to present; Louis F. Buckley, formerly of the faculty of Notre Dame and Catholic University, in a Paulist Press pamphlet of 1948, "Ethical Aspects of Social Insurance."

In all these years the only adverse comment—that is, up until April, 1949—which Buckley saw fit to mention in his pamphlet was that of Rev. Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J., then president of the Catholic Hospital Association, testifying in Congress on May 28, 1947.

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VIRTUALLY all those who supported national health insurance did so on condition that, or on the grounds that, private agencies are unable to take care of the need, and almost all specified that national insurance should not supplant, but should supplement, existing private or voluntary insurance plans.

Thus, for example, Pope Pius XI in 1937 stated in the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* that "social justice" requires that workers should be able to "make suitable provision *through public or private insurance* for old age, for periods of illness and unemployment."

But the failure of private agencies to do the job in America was emphasized explicitly by almost all those who are mentioned above. This failure is sufficiently evident if we consider only these three facts: (1) 70 percent of our people cannot afford the medical attention that doctors say they need; (2) less than 30 percent of our people are covered by any kind of voluntary plan; (3) less than 3 percent are covered by plans which give the coverage needed, the kind national insurance would give, namely, payment for medical, dentist and hospital services in home, office or hospital, other than for long-term illness. (Figures are from a report prepared by Michael Davis and Dewey Anderson in June, 1948, at the request of Senators Murray and Pepper.)

In the light of all this it came as something of a shock last April when three Catholic agencies—the Catholic Hospital Association, the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and the Bureau of Health and Hospitals of the NCWC—issued a statement attacking the whole concept of national compulsory health insurance.

Although Father Raymond McGowan had described the policy of NCWC as being in favor of national health insurance "since 1919," this statement has apparently, in one stroke, now wiped out and reversed that policy.

In place of the Truman proposals the Catholic statement suggests an emphasis on voluntary insurance plans, supplemented by state plans where necessary, these being operated on a strictly voluntary basis, open to everyone. Even greater emphasis, however, is placed upon an ambitious program of government subsidy—amounting to

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$650,000,000 a year—to train doctors and nurses and to build and improve hospitals and health facilities.

The Catholic statement does not go so far as to tar health insurance with the "socialized medicine" brush, but it does almost the same thing by charging that "monopoly . . . would be the inevitable result." A monopoly of medicine by government—that is, government employing all the doctors and nurses and running all the hospitals—would in fact be "socialized medicine" and to say that this is "the inevitable result" of national health insurance takes a little more argumentation than the statement devotes to it. Particularly since we have the benefit of over 50 years of watching health insurance in 32 countries and we can all see quite clearly that in most of them socialized medicine, or government monopoly, has not been the result.

There is a private report going around, done by a Catholic attorney for the well-known corporation that employs him, and this report makes the charge that a subsidy program such as that suggested by the Catholic agencies "would involve great danger of government control and dictation of policies" of private hospitals and medical schools. As someone has said, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

This same attorney maintains that national health insurance "would interfere with the doctor-patient relationship no more than hundreds of existing private accident and health insurance plans," and in general "is in accord with our (American anti-socialist) principles." It would therefore seem that the Catholic plan is more socialistic than health insurance. This whole analysis, incidentally, is based on the Catholic principle of subsidiarity (that is, government doing only what cannot be done effectively by private agencies or smaller organs of government), a principle which the Catholic statement also appeals to in its attack on health insurance.

He has this to say about the Catholic agencies' proposal for voluntary state plans: "A government plan which anybody may join if he pleases would initially attract only those who most need health care, and the premium would have to be so high, if fixed on a true cost basis, without subsidy, as to discourage subscriptions of the normally 'good risks.' This being true, the premiums would never get low enough on a realized cost basis to attract the necessary members. . . . It is doubtful that effective private purchasing power for health care would grow rapidly under such a completely voluntary set-up."

As for the suggestion that the government allow $75 income tax reductions to those who join voluntary plans he points out that 20 million employed persons pay no tax, and 22 million more pay less than $75, so this is not much help for those who need it most. (I regret that I cannot identify this attorney or the conservative corporation that paid for this opinion, but if there is objection, I gladly associate myself with his viewpoint, except that I think some government money is needed to increase the number of doctors, nurses and hospital beds, even if not as much as the Catholic agencies request.)

In order to guard against federal dictation, Senate Bill 1679—the most recent proposal, which was introduced by eight Senators of whom four are Catholics, Senators Murray, McGrath, Wagner and Chavez—provides for operation by the states and on a local level, with full representation to local medical and hospital associations. It also provided that "it shall be the policy to utilize . . . any organization operating a voluntary health service insurance plan or other voluntary health service plan."

The question is: can voluntary plans survive alongside a compulsory government plan? Monsignor O'Grady seemed to think they could when he testified in Congress in 1946. He said then: "My feeling is that we ought to have a universal prepayment plan. . . . Coverage must be compulsory in fact, but voluntary in form. . . . [This] means that everybody must be covered. . . . It means that all those who now are covered by voluntary programs can continue in their present status It means an opportunity and an incentive to provide new voluntary programs."

But in April, 1949, Monsignor O'Grady signed the Catholic agencies' statement which says that the kind of compulsory plan he recommended in 1946 is unacceptable in 1949. Can anyone blame the innocent bystander for being confused?

We all hope that a compulsory plan will not eliminate the voluntary plans. That is the intention of S. 1679. But let us assume that it will. Is that a major disaster? These plans have so far given three percent of our people the kind of medical service they need. How long must we wait to give them a chance to push that figure up to seven percent or twelve percent, or maybe twenty-three percent? There will still be many Americans who need a proper health insurance plan.

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THIS writer is no expert on health insurance. Where he is rich in experience and inside knowledge is in the difficulty of paying medical bills for a growing family. And in the difficulty of getting on one of these so-called "voluntary plans." The average workingman cannot get on one of these plans unless his employer grants, or his union wins, him the privilege. And even then he must belong to a group that includes at least ten who want the same coverage he does. Meanwhile time passes, and babies arrive.

When he does get on one, the chances are he will have only hospital and surgical expenses covered. That leaves him paying for visits to doctors and dentists—that is, if he wants to keep his children out of the hospital and out from under the surgeon's knife—and that means more difficulty.

When a man is feeling the pinch himself, you cannot expect his heart to bleed too profusely for the sacred right of the voluntary plans to be unmolested by government while they try to raise that figure of three percent to seven percent , or twelve percent, or maybe even twenty-three percent. Somehow there must be a better way.

JOHN C. CORT.

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Communications

Tolerance

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO the Editors: I am not going to take your space just to inform the readers about my enjoyment of *The Commonweal Reader*. . . . I should like to be allowed only this remark: Catholics of present and future times should never lose sight of James N. Vaughan's "perspective" of *Intolerance*. It is horrible to think that, through alleged faithfulness to alleged principle, we should one day repeat in America, as they are repeating now in Spain, the insolent challenge of Louis Veuillot to the Liberals of his country: "We require liberty from you in the name of your principles; we shall refuse it to you in the name of our own!"

Vaughan shows very vividly the ineptness, for the spiritual welfare of a nation, of intolerant policies. Far from producing unity and peace, intolerance promotes hypocrisy, cunning silence, lying and flattery, mass corruption, distrust and hatred fomenting blind retaliation and revolution.

The fault with Democratic Government has never been to allow opposition too much liberty, but rather to permit false liberals to assail other people's liberty, to exploit other free people in the name of uncontrolled, dictatorial, one-sided, privileged, individualistic or egotistic freedom. Democracy will never be as liberal as Almighty God; but sometimes it has failed to do as God does: to tie up people to the responsibilities of their deeds.

If I were to find some detail I would object to, in Vaughan's defense of tolerance, it would be his excessive generosity in conceding a certain "formal logic" to the intolerant thesis, or the intolerant claims of those who are sure of being in the truth and have, besides, a majority of truth holders behind them. Even then the argument for intolerance is not formal, perfect logic. It is only a bald fallacy: Error has no rights. Surely it has not! The only consistent attitudes for those who know the truth is not to spare error, even in their friends, in their brothers, in their fellow-citizens. If they do spare error, they are no longer friends, but flatterers, corruptors, "false brothers."

Error is nobody; it is not a person. Now persons, even when in error, really and sincerely, have not only the *right* but the *duty* to follow their conscience. This is not an invention of *Liberals*. It is the unanimous teaching of Christian ethicians. Therefore, to persecute or to silence by force sincere dissenters, for the sake of unity, order, or inviolability of the true faith, is pure Machiavellianism: it is to do evil for the sake of good.

Maybe Louis Veuillot and, after him, the to-be-intolerant Catholic rulers of the future Catholic American majority will answer that there cannot be such a thing as an invincibly erring, sincere conscience, in their Utopian Society of believers. Those disciples whom the Master labeled "Boanerges" (sons of thunder)—those who wished for fire from heaven to force dissenters—thought so too, as did, after them, those who found fire more at hand in the *auto-de-fé*. They did not know "what manner of spirit they were." "Judge not, not to be judged." For the ability to read in the depth of conscience is, so far, an exclusive power of God and has not been extended to human rulers, religious or secular.

(Rev.) J. Alves Correia.

The Non-Communist Left

Baldwin, Long Island.

TO the Editors: It is a pity that James Loeb, Jr. didn't get a chance really to sit down with some Christian democrat leaders and get a more rounded picture of the political picture of Europe. But his was a good report [The Non-Communist Left in Europe. The Commonweal, October 14]—as far as it went.

It appears that he doesn't appreciate the wide gap that exists between the Christian democrat and social democrat *Weltanschauung*. We Christian democrats are heirs of twenty centuries of Christian thinking. Christ is our elder Brother and the first born of our generation—not Marx. For us the tremendous reality and starting point is God; and man is a worthy object of our love because he is the Image of God.

We are dedicated to the work of spiritualizing our world, restoring all things in Christ. We are for low-cost housing, trade unions, minimum wages, FEPC, social security, aid to education, etc.—because this renders the job of restoring all things in Christ less difficult. We are for these things because they support and assist man in maintaining his dignity as a child of God and heir of Heaven.

We want man to have the necessities of this life, food, clothing, shelter, because Grace presupposes nature and perfects nature. Empty mouths don't praise God—says Saint Catherine. Man's journey's End is God and we don't want obstacles in his path to redemption—man-made obstacles, produced by bad and inadequate housing, bad wages, unemployment, sickness, etc. We want a society that has for its dynamic principle social justice and one that is so well organized as to serve the common good of all its citizens.

Social democrats are loaded down with obsolete ideological baggage picked up in the 18th and 19th centuries. It's a useless and frustrating burden, a trap for good minds and plausible dressing for sterile power seekers.

Social democrats are infected by a secularist virus. They are deists and agnostics, if not outright atheists. Though I am sure social democracy has its quota of misguided Christians—as has communism. For them God is an irrelevant Nobody. His existence doesn't make much difference one way or the other. He is an excuse for Churches.

It was the social democrats, the anti-communist ones of Italy, who voted against ratification of the Lateran Pact by the young Republic of Italy. It was the socialists who cried for the "nationalization" of free Catholic schools in Northern France. It was the same type of people who attacked and vilified the Church in the recent German campaign. It is the same kind of people who

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in the United States supported and defended the discriminatory and un-American Barden Bill, and attacked "released time" teachers of religion.

Christian democrats do not believe in class parties. We believe that political parties should represent all classes, workers and management, north and south. That is why those of Europe most closely resemble our American concept of the political parties—as represented by the Democratic and Republican parties. Our concept of property differs from the social democrat. So does our idea of society, the family, the state, etc. We are for a pluralist and decentralist society and a federalist state. We want power to be placed in the hands of the people and in their associations—such as the family, the trade union, the industry, etc. We are not monist, statist and centralist—as are the social democrats. We believe in the people and are prepared to trust them. We are not wedded to the nationalization formula. Property is not for us the basic evil. Original sin came about because of Adam's fall, not his ownership of land.

Christian democrats are prepared and willing to cooperate with social democrats on the basis of a mutually acceptable program. But the social democrats have got to cease their attacks upon our Christian sentiments and convictions—to realize that the Church, as a legitimate component of society, has its rights. They have got to respect the rights of the family regarding education.

They have got to realize that though Our Lord's injunction, "Give unto Ceasar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that belong to God" has no meaning to them, it is the very charter of the existence of the mounting forces of Christian democracy.

JOSEPH CALDERON.

The Stage & Screen

Touch and Go

I DON'T like to start off by making a word-game of Jean and Walter Kerr's revue, and yet I've got to admit that their title is a perfect expression of my state of my mind last Friday night. It seems to me in retrospect that most of these numbers and some of the players were witty indeed, and yet I do not remember having had a hilarious nor breathless time.

Perhaps it is George Abbott's incessantly noisy method of direction which threw me off, or perhaps I was fairly "off" to begin with, I don't know. But there did seem to me to be far too few plums in this Hallowe'en pie and far too much plain dough. On the credit end, it's safe to say that every time Nancy Andrews steps on the stage everyone sits up, and I must nominate her impersonation of Barbara Stanwyck as the funniest thing of the year—so far. And there are other ingratiating performances by Kyle MacDonnell, George Hall and Dick Sykes.

Among the sketches, "Be A Mess" seemed to me the highpoint; otherwise, I did not flinch in the least before a satirical version of "Cinderella" after the manner of Elia Kazan. On the third hand, however, the burlesque on serious musicals—Hamlet, this time—I thought stupid and tasteless. In this truly parlous theatre year, I'm afraid my only reaction to this first fandango is to wish everyone luck and to hope for a little more bone in our next. (*at the Broadhurst*) KAPPO PHELAN.

Everybody's Problems

FROM Germany has come a film that stands up with the best movies on our screens today. *"The Affair Blum"* can be taken by those so inclined as a straight detective story; it has all the standard properties of typical crime-and-detection stuff, and Director Erich Engel has handled them expertly; but "The Affair Blum" also has a sociological content that places it well above most thriller films. Its story, although very complicated, is told so carefully and well that you hardly realized how involved it is until what started as a simple murder-and-robbery plot grows into an affair that can be likened to the Dreyfus Case. This story is based on a series of incidents that actually took place in Germany during the depression of the twenties. A bookkeeper is murdered. His murderer is picked up by the police, and is only too willing to accuse Dr. Jacob Blum, whom the police suspect of wanting to be rid of the bookkeeper. The fact that Blum is Jewish incites the police and several higher-ups to suspect the worst of him in matters of income tax evasion, and even more drastic crimes. How these officials, in a country that is already beginning to feel an interest in the swastika racism, build up a case against Blum based on the murderer's testimony and circumstancial evidence makes a fascinating film which takes on suspense almost as great as that which follows when Blum's defenders bring in a detective from another city.

Since the actors in this interesting German film are not known in this country, there is little point in my naming them; but the performances are first-rate. Again and again as you watch these people, perhaps because their faces are not familiar, you have a feeling that this is a documentary movie with its unpleasant episodes happening right before your eyes. Director Engel and his staff deserve great credit for turning out such a moving film, a film which, although made in the Soviet part of Germany and obviously carrying no anti-Soviet propaganda, does succeed in making a strong plea for justice. "The Affair Blum" with its frank display of growing anti-Semitism among officials in Germany and with its disturbing and ominous atmosphere of it-could-happen-any-place is a movie not to be taken lightly. Its English subtitles (by Charles Clement) are effective; and its melodrama and social themes have a universality that will make them appreciated everywhere.

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I'M SORRY to report that the Hollywood films this week, although also well spiked with interesting problems, are not particularly successful. *"Strange Bargain"*

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tells the story of a struggling bookkeeper whose devoted wife can't quite make ends meet. He agrees to assist his bankrupt boss in a diabolic scheme whereby after the boss commits suicide, the bookkeeper will make his death look like murder and the insurance company will have to pay. What happens when this evil plan gets rolling is interesting enough, but becomes so loaded with hokum that its suspense begins to leak out at the seams. Jeffrey Lynn, Martha Scott and a good supporting cast manage to hold your attention at first, but they can do little more than make this an illustrated sermon on even-assisting-a-crime-does-not-pay.

If *"Abandoned Woman"* had stuck to its documentary aspects, it might have been an effective picture, but its producers seemed to think that the problems connected with the black market in babies needed to be smothered in thrills and suspense. The result is a melodrama loaded with clichés in script and celluloid that detract from a serious subject. Gale Storm, as the girl who comes to Los Angeles to search for her missing sister, Dennis O'Keefe, as the reporter who helps her, and Jeff Chandler, as the D.A. interested in squelching an illegal adoption agency, try hard enough with their roles; but even they and the presence of the Salvation Army cannot keep "Abandoned Woman" from being more than an exercise in yellow journalism. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Of Note

Christian Marriage

WRITING in the October *Orate Fratres* (Collegeville, Minn.) the Rev. Frederick E. Flynn attacks the unfortunately widely held notion that marriage is an "imperfect" state of life, or that marriage is somehow a consequence of the fall of man. He traces this state of mind to the Manichaeism and Albigensian heresies and their influence on our culture. He goes on:

> Marriage is a stable union of two persons involving their whole beings, neither a union of bodies alone, nor a union of souls alone. Marriage is primarily a spiritual union completed in and by a physical union. As a natural union, marriage is analogous to the supernatural union of Creator and creature in the beatific vision: before marriage lover and loved have a confused knowledge of each other, just as creatures do of God here below; in marriage deepening love brings more intimate knowledge and deeper knowledge increases love and so on in an ever-expanding circle until the death of one; between God and man in the beatific vision the intimacy is complete forever.
>
> The weak and negative concept of marriage resulting from the debilitating influence of the parasitic doctrines has caused us to misplace the emphasis in another fundamental Christian principle. From St. Paul through St. Jerome and St. Thomas to the Council of Trent the principle has been maintained that the state of virginity is higher than the married state. Improper emphasis has led us to set up an opposition between virginity and marriage. The real distinction is between mystical marriage and sacramental marriage. As a state of life virginity is not desirable for its own sake, but rather for the sake of closer union with God. The virgin chooses virginity solely for the purpose of entering into a more exalted kind of marriage. . . . Rather it is virginity which is the historical consequence of the fall, inasmuch as it is virginity, and not marrage, which owes its existence as a status to concupiscence. If man had not lost through original sin the grace which helped him to moderate his sense appetites, he would not have needed to seek refuge in virginity as a means of getting closer to God . . .
>
> In this, then, the tremendous dignity and mystery of the sacrament of marriage consists: through its graces married persons do not only regain some of the privileges lost through original sin, but incomparably more do they share in the supernatural union of Christ the divine Spouse with His Church. "This is a great mystery—I mean in reference to Christ and to the Church" (Eph. 5:32). If in the beginning God created man and woman for marriage to Him in and through marriage to each other, He has now given them His divine Son as their constant Guest at their earthly marriage feast.

Non-Marxist Socialism

ITALIAN Socialists, who are now divided into so many groups that they have lost most of their political force, are seeking a formula for building a new unified Socialist Party. Following the recent congress held for this purpose, the first plan to be submitted is one by the well-known novelist and Socialist leader, Ignazio Silone. He calls upon Italian Socialists to abandon Marxism and rebuild a non-Marxist Socialist Party.

According to Silone, Socialists have made a serious mistake in allowing Socialism to become identified with Marxism.

The particular advantage of a non-Marxist Socialism, according to Silone, is that it would "eliminate once and for all the obstacles that have prevented Catholics from adhering to Socialism." In fact, he implies that Socialism has made a major error in becoming alienated from Christianity and its objectives.

Thus he writes: "In my opinion we shall have made notable progress in our public life when the adjective 'Christian' is no longer the monopoly of any one party and when Catholicism in the exercise of its worship and the freedom of its moral teaching is no longer constrained to affiliate itself with a single party. This would be an enormous advantage not only to religion, but also to politics and in particular to Socialism, since it would put an end to the suspicions which have for so long restricted its efficacy."

(Rome, 10/29—CIP.)

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Two Ends to One Tale

Anne Fremantle

PROPHECY is one of the most uncomfortable of gifts. A prophet, we are told on divine authority, is not without honor (save in his own country). But he is always a creature of whom to beware. Yet not for long. Jules Verne, H. G. Wells; how terrifying seemed their visions while they lived; how out-dated and ridiculously remote now seem their wildest imaginings, when we are building platforms outside space from which to bombard the earth, and when interplanetary travel is about to be discussed in terms of daily time-tables!

*

AMONG the greatest, and perhaps for that very reason the most neglected, of the prophets of not quite half a century ago, is Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson. His accounts of the end of the world anticipated our current atomic anxieties and his account of the stages by which persecution sets in are anticipatory of what is happening in Hungary and Czechoslovakia today, as well as George Orwell's novel "1984." The fourth son and youngest child of Edward Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Hugh came from a family which, on both sides, was not only artistic and literary, but was also passionately interested in psychical research, mesmerism, and every form of extra-sensory perception.

Robert Hugh grew up in the surroundings of Lambeth Palace in London and Addington, the Archbishop's palace in Kent. He first became an Anglican clergyman, but was received into the Church in 1903. In 1911 he was made private chamberlain to Pope Pius X; in 1914 he died of pneumonia. He is best remembered for his tremendously vivid historical novels. *Come Rack, Come Rope* is an admirably authentic description, in fiction, of the life and death of a Catholic gentleman in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. *By What Authority?* is another supremely well-written account of England, when, after nine hundred years in the faith, she embarked on her three hundred years of sectarianism, which were to lead her, via Spencer, Huxley and the Modernists, to her present secularism.

But, brilliant and historically accurate as are these novels, Robert Hugh Benson's greatest achievements were as a spiritual director and as a prophet. His published letters of direction rank with von Hügel's or Dom Chapman's, and his two eschatological novels are minor masterpieces. *Lord of the World,* written in 1907, and *The Dawn of All,* published in 1911, foresee two totally different ends for this planet. *Lord of the World* shows the apparent triumph of evil; the faithful are reduced to a tiny handful; Anti-Christ reigns. *The Dawn of All* shows the Catholic monks back in Westminster; Ireland the vast monastery; the Pope the temporal ruler of princes; and the earth returning in a blaze of glory to Him Who made it. Benson has been reproached, both

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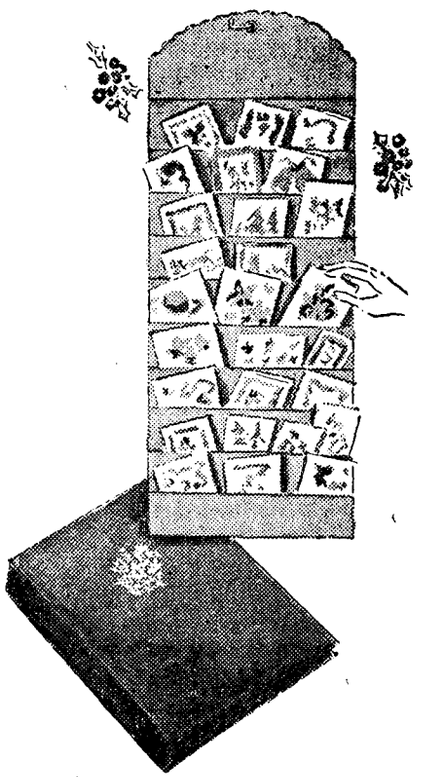

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in his lifetime and since, for describing two such categorically differing possibilities; if one were credible, the other could not be. Yet, to any and every Catholic, both are entirely plausible. It is still in the cards that either may occur. You pay your pennyworth of hope or horror, and your guess is as good as Benson's.

*

LORD of the World is in every way far the better novel. It is Benson's most thought-out piece of work. In it he achieves true characterization, so rarely accomplished completely by him elsewhere. His hero, Father Percy Franklin, is a priest who, though sadly beset with doubts, temptations and difficulties, yet progresses steadily towards sanctity throughout the novel. He ends as Pope, persecuted, in hiding, utterly humiliated, yet wholly triumphant, and is, throughout, a seen-in-the-round character. Even the heroine, Mabel Brand, is not merely of a type, as are so many of Benson's heroines. His women are often, like Thackeray's, stroked in with saccharine, or etched in with acid. But Mabel is a warm, human, compassionable creature, whose suicide is, as most must be, muddled, confused, unnecessary; gropingly undertaken and completed in total astonishment.

Father Franklin's interior journey is told with delicacy. The description of mental prayer is obviously autobiographical as is the account of "that interior act of capitulation so familiar to all who have cultivated an inner life and understand what failure means. His emotions had been stormed, his intellect silenced, his memory of grace obscured, a spiritual nausea had sickened his soul, yet the secret fortress of the will had in an agony held fast the door." Doubts besiege him; are not the handful of Catholics but "the crowned dunces of the world's school of sanity, sitting on the solid benches of materialism?" Yet, gradually, through suffering, through self-discipline, Pope Franklin arrives at a state of almost continual prayer. And, increasingly oftener, he was granted "that cessation of activity which is the supreme energy."

*

IN *Lord of the World* the nations are on the eve of total war. Benson outlines the gruesome possibilities; whole towns to be destroyed by a single shell; fleets of silent airships, which will annihilate cities; populations wiped out. England is completely socialist. In 1929 the Established Church had fallen; the House of Lords in 1935. The Necessary Trades Bill of 1960, with the whole nation behind it, had municipalized first the railways, then the banks, then the mines, and finally all the chief industries. Since 6% was the highest return permitted on any individual enterprise, everyone had drifted into government employment, and practically every employable male was a civil servant.

Dominant over all Eastern Europe and all Asia was an Eastern Empire controlled by the Sino-Japanese, for China and Japan had combined to defeat and over-run Russia. America had stopped its advance into Europe, but not before England had lost India and Australia, while retaining South Africa. America had annexed Canada as the price for her cooperation.

The prevailing creed is an optimistic pantheism. God is Man, Man is God. There are a few pockets of Catholicism left; the Church is tolerated in England; the Pope has traded all the churches in Italy for the sovereignty of the City of Rome; Ireland has remained remote and Christian. The universities are no more; with the general decay of belief in the numinous, the character and competence required of graduates had gone unproduced. So some universities became laboratories, some, engineering workshops, some, museums.

The most interesting pages in *Lord of the World* are those devoted to describing the new religion. Materialism, taken baldly, has failed. Instead, as the poet Swinburne sang, there is "Glory to Man in the Highest." Benson has been very skillful in showing the mystical appeal of such a cult. When Julian Felsenburgh, who is the "Other," is proclaimed President of Europe, then of the world, war is outlawed, and it is made "treason to humanity" to appeal from God Immanent to God Transcendent. For there is, Felsenburgh declares, no God Transcendent. God, as far as He could, or should, be known, is Man. "Mysteries there were, but mysteries that enticed rather than baffled, and they unfolded new glories with every discovery that man could make; even inanimate objects, the fossil, the electric current, the far off stars, these were dust thrown off by the Spirit of the World, fragrant with His presence, and eloquent of His nature."

Benson is at his ablest in showing the terrible danger lurking in such a creed. At first the deviation from Truth is hardly perceptible, for truly God *is* Immanent, and the error appears to be only in a slightly exaggerated emphasis. But step by step, this seed of evil grows into a towering tree of horrific, all-overshadowing, satanic majesty. At first, all is sweetness and light. The churches are reopened and solemnly dedicated to "the glorious creed of humanity, to that splendid God who died and rose again 10,000 times a day . . . and Who rose again, not once, like the carpenter's son, but with every child that comes into the world." The bloody spectre of the Cross is conjured, and Mabel joins in the general rejoicing that every individual can meet death gladly, content "to sink back into the reservoir from which he drew his life. The supreme, generous sacrifice is to lay down one's life because life itself demands it."

The people, long deceived by the cruel religion of the Galilean, will find that the religion of humanity, which Felsenburgh teaches will abolish suffering but first one of suffering's most savage instruments must be abolished that Church which embraces suffering and teaches that "the blind pangs even of beasts are within the Father's will and scheme." When the religion of humanity is made compulsory, "the human race becomes now a single entity, with a supreme responsibility towards itself." There were no longer any private rights at all, such as had previously existed. Man now possessed domini

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over every cell which composed His Mystical Body, and where any such cell asserted itself to the detriment of the body, the rights of the whole were unqualified."

*

THE Dawn of All, step by step, climbs up where *Lord of the World* stepped down. The process by which the world has passed through Socialism and come out the other side is detailed in an introductory chapter. There was no light behind Socialist faces. Socialism, a well-meant attempt to evade the natural law of the survival of the fittest, had established instead the survival of the majority, who tyrannized first over the minority and then over the individual. The uneducated were allowed to rule by sheer weight of numbers, but at last revolt of the individualists ended their rule. It was the family which reconciled in itself the Socialist claims of the rights of society, and the claims by the anarchists of the individual's right. Cooperatives took over a hitherto-nationalized industry and agriculture; the poor and the sick were taken over once more by the Church, and, after "photography had exposed the absurdity of realism, it brought men back via symbolism to the Church."

However, in spite of much that is interesting and exciting, *The Dawn of All,* like almost all sequels, is a sad pastiche of *Lord of the World.* Both books are full of tiresome small faults. Benson was annoyed because his publisher forbade him to "write more than two books a year"; he did everything at white heat, and wrote almost without correcting. *Lord of the World* would be better too, without the striking physical resemblance between Franklin, the hero, and Felsenburgh, Anti-Christ. But both novels still lift the reader on huge, prophetic wings.

Probably the best things Benson ever wrote are not novels at all, but essays like *The Papers of a Pariah,* where, as Father Martindale, S.J. puts it, "He passes from the natural to the supernatural, without destroying the ladder of his ascent." Here his language is at its best, deliberate without being sluggish, ardent without being ornatical, poetical, without wildness."

And there is at least one exquisite passage where Benson in prose achieves what Wordsworth did for all time in his verse upon Westminster Bridge; showing creation recollected, aware of itself and aware of the Purpose for which it was created, "Cui omnia vivunt."

Books

Every Man A Penny. Bruce Marshall. Houghton Mifflin. $3.00.

BRUCE MARSHALL writes only one book about one man. This is the best orchestration he has yet made of his theme. The one man is, in this book, a Parisian abbé named Gaston, a man of great simplicity. The theme is the love of God for man. Marshall's success with the novel is limited to this character and this theme, and is considerable within that limit. He knows Abbé Gaston deeply, his sudden petty greeds, his

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prides, his tirednesses and failures, as well as his basi saintliness and his moving love for God and God's peopl and world: "Why shouldn't the loveliness of wome praise the Lord, the abbé thought. Why shouldn't pretty ankle sing His praise? The strains of old waltze came back to the abbé and he saw his mother dancin again on his father's arm, with the bunch of her dre and petticoats held away from her and reflected like huge carnation on the polished floor."

That passage is actually a statement of the novel. Th conclusion is that the abbé in his old age, reaches som knowledge of why the land-owner pays those who ent the vineyards last the same penny he pays to those wh have borne the heat of the day: "because so much of th labor was its own reward, and so much of th world its own punishment." The novel is wholly a jo ful, humble, and almost liturgical delectation in th beauty of the people God has made.

The accidentals of the book are its inadequacies. A characters except the abbé are present in name only. few, the Statesman and the Cardinals, are simp caricatures. The plot is a set of events that are ir provised by Mr. Marshall because the abbé has got have something to do until the end of the book.

Marshall has developed his style of repetitions, rhythr and key phrases to the inconsistent point that it is eith dramatically excellent, as it is in the abbé's last intervie with the German officer, or silly, as it is in the State man's paragraph. He can give sudden and telling d scriptions: "Two pretty girls with long silk legs pass along the pavement in fur coats. They did not look the coffin. Biting out at the world with young wh teeth, they passed on to talk of nonsense for anoth fifty years."

The book is tremendously sentimental, but it carr a charity and integrity that make it a book that is wo reading. Marshall is no great novelist, but he is oft a good writer, often a moving one, and he knows wh it can mean to be a Christian.

WILLIAM PFAFF.

Education of a Humanist. Albert Guérard. Harva $5.00.

PROFESSOR Guérard in a free and loose fash has included within these covers much upon Fre Language, Literature and History. His observations derived from not only long scholarship within these ar but also an acute awareness of other fields.

One remembers the insistence upon the disciplin value of French and Latin as keenly as one has forgot what was read in those languages. The Professor ass the unusual idea that French should be taught so that may read the literature as readily as possible. It is g to see that the raison d'être of a French course may v be the enjoyment and wealth garnered from a reading Dumas or Balzac. These chapters are recommended those to whom the means have eclipsed the end.

Mr. Guérard strikes out at the Great Books sch but not to save a favorite of his. Rather, he observes whole trend with acumen and lucidity. His conclusi

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should interest those subscribing to this pleasant, partial and superficial education.

The author's discussion of History, especially the fateful 1848 and his evaluation of Napoleon Bonaparte is most rewarding. The February and June of 1848 as well as the pervading "wealth is virtue," etc. of Louis Philippe and Guizot teach much for our times. He is quite conscious of the materialism and money rule in history, and also the avid Nationalism besetting the world now as in the past. And it is largely this rampant Nationalism and its eventual conclusion, "My Country, right or wrong," that he justly decries.

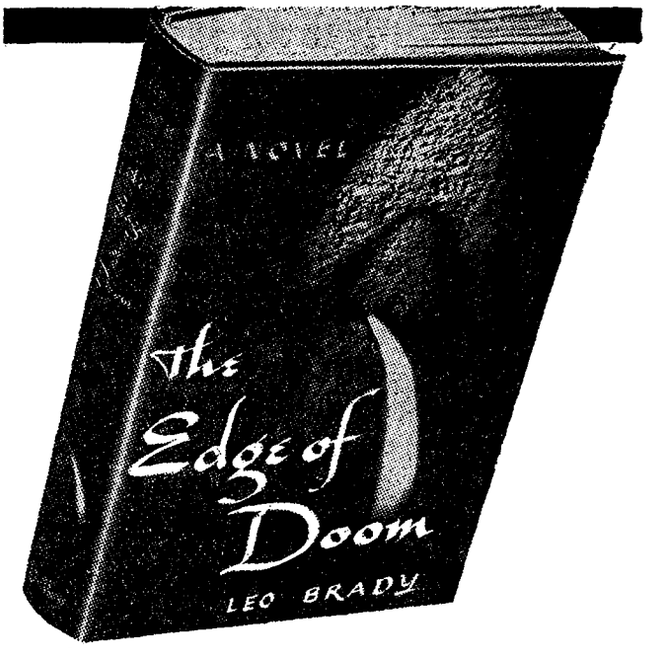
As a solution and antidote the Professor strongly asserts a complete World Citizenship or One Worldness. But beyond the problem of a common language and other pragmatic considerations, the question is How? And here is the rub. For men must go to the conventions with the only four things that matter, "will power in the service of good will, while the critical spirit and the experimental method never relax their vigilance." But what determines "good will?" It seems that Reason with the means of Science will resolve the difficulties. Yet the author has already pointed out their failure in History. Nevertheless he says that "Science alone completely transcends such antagonisms," i.e., rivalries, distrust and division. The implicit understanding is that given time and the ascendancy of Reason man's perfectibility will destroy the collective interests; i.e., Nationalism. For he says, "Much in man is subhuman; he has not fully pawed himself out of the slime." It is this faith that will keep the One Worldness from the evils of Nationalism. Are not these evils man's? Reason and Science seem to be enough, for "The timeless in its two forms, the instantaneous and the everlasting, is beyond the scope of Humane Learning." Is it?

FREDERICK GOODE.

An Alphabet for Gourmets. M. F. K. Fisher. Viking. $3.00

MRS. FISHER'S present volume will seem somewhat disappointing, I think, to her long-term public, but it is surely intriguing enough to send any new reader back to the more substantial books. I am thinking especially of *How to Cook a Wolf,* a manual which must have saved many an American household from the dark stodginess of the conventional schools and certainly from the rainbow horrors of the ordinary magazine stuff. That it also provides for penny-saving is not, certainly, the least of its honors.

The present volume is made up of short pieces, most of which have been printed in such magazines as *Gourmet.* The scheme seems rather arbitrary in advance, but indeed Mrs. Fisher stretches it as she pleases. It has not got a great many recipes, and more than a few of these few are repeats. Nevertheless, the rewards of reading this author have never been of the cut-and-dried variety (dried mushrooms *are* mentioned once, I think) and it is almost always in the surrounding satirical or lyrical prose that one can pick up inventions.



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Children's Books

The annual issue of The Commonweal devoted to children's books will include:

BIOGRAPHIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, by Florence Codman, which goes into the whole question of how to present men and women effectively for younger minds; it cites in detail several notable current volumes.

POEMS BY CHILDEN, by John M. Aitkenhead, which tells about years of personal experience in encouraging children to write verse and presents a number of remarkably imaginative samples.

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By a process of plainly stating her own preferences with regard to polenta, for instance, or applesauce, the author still determinedly urges experimentation on the part of the reader by hinting that of course he must have a mind of his own. This seems a sensible procedure to me and I have certainly benefited by it. And I must say there is something to be said for a manual which might include no recipes at all, but rather describe types of dishes precisely. In an earlier book, when Mrs. Fisher calmly and clearly describes what a stew *is*—any stew—there is really nothing more to be said. A *stew* can forthwith be made by anyone over ten, and one can assume that it will grow merely subtler rather than better with experience.

I do wish Mrs. Fisher would attack other questions in this reassuringly detached fashion. For instance, the problem of thickening. Left completely on my own with some outlandish creation of my own, almost always I find myself hovering between egg yolk or flour or cornstarch (never!) or perhaps just butter. But perhaps it should be something like rice flour of which I have none. I suppose what I'm really after is a kind of Science of Cooking of which there are, no doubt, thousands. But I would feel better if Mrs. Fisher would also compile one. Any old time, of course.

KAPPO PHELAN.

Sweden: Model for a World. Hudson Strode. Harcourt. $5.00.

HUDSON STRODE has given us a fast trip through contemporary Sweden, with a short resumé of that nation's history. Much of what his tremendously informative book tells will interest Americans who would like to solve many problems—especially the problem of assuring social welfare while avoiding the dangers of political centralization—as well as have the Swedes.

Mr. Strode's analysis of modern Sweden is based upon an identification of the Good Life with material welfare. "Community singing, adult education, smörgåsord, punctiality," "standard stainless-steel kitchens" and Greta Garbo are not in themselves conclusive proof of a high level of civilization. What Mr. Strode has said about Sweden is impressive, but there is much he has not told us.

• REVIEWERS •

Frederick W. GOODE is a Princeton graduate who has taught Religion and History at St. George's School, Newport, R. I.

Anne FREMANTLE, William PFAFF and Kappo PHELAN are all members of the editorial staff.

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